

## Message Text

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ACTION NEA-09

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 SR-02 ORM-01 AID-05 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01

PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 /072 W

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P R 150533Z APR 75

FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9640

INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY KABUL PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ISLAMABAD 3269

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT)

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, PORG, PK, AF

SUBJECT: GOP LETTERS TO UN SECGEN ON PAK/AFGHAN "REFUGEE" ISSUE

REF: A. KABUL 2021; B. STATE 76968

SUMMARY:

GOP, IN TWO LETTERS TO UN SECGEN SENT BY PRIMIN  
BHUTTO AND MINISTER OF STATE AZIZ AHMED, HAD ADDRESSED  
QUESTION OF ALLEGED PAK REFUGEES IN AFGHANISTAN. LETTERS  
ATTEMPT TO COUNTER PRESIDENT DAUD'S REQUEST TO WALDHEIM  
THAT UN INVESTIGATE MATTER AND WARN THAT SECGEN'S  
DECISION TO GIVE UNHCR THE GO-AHEAD WILL ONLY HEIGHTEN  
TENSIONS. PAKS REITERATE THEIR WILLINGNESS TO ENTER  
INTO DIALOGUE WITH GOA AND THEIR COMMITMENT TO A PEACEFUL  
SETTLEMENT OF DIFFERENCES WITH AFGHANISTAN "WITHOUT  
PRECONDITIONS." LETTERS ASSERT THAT AFGHANS ARE SOLELY  
RESPONSIBLE FOR DETERIORATION OF PAK/AFGHAN RELATIONS  
SINCE JANUARY; CALL "SO-CALLED REFUGEES" AFGHAN AGENTS  
PROVOCATEUR, THEIR SYMPATHIZERS AND FUGITIVES FROM  
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JUSTICE; MENTION THAT PAK DIPLOMATS HAVE UNSUCCESSFULLY

ATTEMPTED TO VISIT REFUGEE CAMPS; AND REITERATE CHARGES THAT KABUL-BASED NAP LEADER AJMAL KHATTAK IS IN CHARGE OF CAMPS TRAINING SUBVERSIVES FOR ACTIVITIES IN PAKISTAN. GOP EXCORIATES DICTATORIAL AFGHAN REGIME WHOSE "REIGN OF TERROR" HAS PROMPTED 170,000 REFUGEES TO CROSS INTO PAKISTAN. WE PRESUME THAT MOST OF THESE ARE NOMADS WHO, MFA TELLS US, WILL BE "DISCOURAGED" FROM CROSSING BACK TO AFGHANISTAN THIS YEAR. SHARP PAK REACTION DOUBTLESS HEIGHTENED BY THEIR ANGER AT WALDHEIM FOR NOT CONSULTING WITH THEM AND BY MEMORY OF ROLE OF REFUGEES IN EVENTS OF 1971. END SUMMARY.

1. GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN HAS TAKEN STRONG AND ANGRY EXCEPTION TO UN SECRETARY GENERAL WALDHEIM DECISION TO ASK UNHCR TO LOOK INTO MATTER OF PAK REFUGEES IN AFGHANISTAN. DECISION WAS IN RESPONSE TO REQUEST BY PRESIDENT DAUD FOR UN INVESTIGATION OF THIS PROBLEM AND WAS TAKEN BY WALDHEIM WITHOUT CONSULTATION WITH PAK REPS. IN SEPARATE LETTERS TO WALDHEIM SENT BY PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO AND MINISTER OF STATE AZIZ AHMED, GOP CLAIMS TO HAVE "EXPOSED AFGHANISTAN'S ATTEMPT TO SECURE UN COVER FOR ITS INTERFERENCE IN PAKISTAN'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS." PAKISTAN PRESS OVER WEEKEND PUBLISHED FULL TEXTS OF THE LETTERS (AND RAN EDITORIALS WHICH REFLECTED GOVERNMENT POSITION SPELLED OUT IN THEM.)

2. HIGHLIGHTS OF PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO'S LETTER AS FOLLOWS:

SO-CALLED "REFUGEES," IN REALITY ARE AFGHAN AGENTS PROVOCATEUR, AND A HANDFUL OF THEIR SYMPATHIZERS, WHO FLED TO AFGHANISTAN AS FUGITIVES FROM JUSTICE. MANY NOW WISH TO RETURN TO PAKISTAN BUT ARE FORCIBLY DETAINED IN AFGHANISTAN.

THOUSANDS OF AFGHAN NATIONALS WHO TRADITIONALLY MIGRATE TO PAKISTAN IN WINTER MONTHS ARE "REFUSING" TO RETURN TO AFGHANISTAN BECAUSE OF TERROR AND REPRESSION THERE. GOP, HOWEVER, HAS REFRAINED FROM MAKING POLITICAL CAPITAL OUT OF SITUATION.

DAUD'S CHARGE THAT BANNING OF NAP WAS ILLEGAL IS FALSE AS IT WAS DONE UNDER PAK CONSTITUTION. IN CONFIDENTIAL

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ANY EVENT, GOP WILL ABIDE BY DECISION OF SUPREME COURT ON THE QUESTION.

PAKISTAN HAS NOT CHOSEN TO DRAW WORLD'S ATTENTION TO PLIGHT OF OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF AFGHANISTAN UNDER PRESENT DESPOTIC REGIME AS THIS WOULD VIOLATE PRINCIPLE OF NON-INTERFERENCE IN ANOTHER COUNTRY'S DOMESTIC AFFAIRS.

DAUD'S SUGGESTION THAT FACT-FINDING MISSION

INVESTIGATE SITUATION IN BALUCHISTAN IS PREPOSTEROUS  
AND A CLEAR ATTEMPT TO SECURE UN COVER FOR ITS  
INTERFERENCE IN PAK INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

AFGHANISTAN IS SOLELY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DETERIORA-  
TION IN PAK-AFGHAN RELATIONS SINCE LAST JANUARY.  
ITS "PROVACATIVE AND AGGRESSIVE POSTURE" ACCOMPANIED  
BY "CONTINUED EXHORTATIONS FROM RADIO KABUL" HAS  
RESULTED IN KILLING OF NWFP MINISTER SHERPAO.

IT MOST UNFORTUNATE THAT KILLING OCCURRED JUST WHEN  
PAKISTAN HAD TAKEN INITIATIVE FOR COMMENCEMENT OF  
DIALOGUE WITH AFGHANISTAN. DESPITE KABUL'S CAMPAIGN  
OF INCITEMENT, PAKISTAN, HOWEVER, REMAINS READY  
FOR SUCH A DIALOGUE WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS.

REQUEST THAT WALDHEIM INFORM OTHER UN MEMBERS TO  
WHOM DAUD'S LETTER CIRCULATED CONTENTS OF THIS LETTER.

3. IMPORTANT POINTS OF AZIZ AHMED'S LETTER AS FOLLOWS:

UN'S "FAVORABLE RESPONSE" TO DAUD'S REQUEST FOR  
ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEES WILL ONLY HEIGHTEN TENSIONS  
BY ENCOURAGING AFGHANISTAN TO INCREASE ITS HOSTILE  
ACTIVITIES.

THERE ARE "GRAVE DANGERS" INHERENT IN UN INVOLVEMENT  
IN "DELICATE AND CONTROVERSIAL POLITICAL SITUATIONS."

AFGHAN ALLEGATIONS ARE A "TRANSPARENT DESIGN" TO  
FURTHER THE PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN IN SUPPORT OF  
AFGHANISTAN'S AGGRESSIVE MOVES AGAINST PAKISTAN.  
THEY ARE AN ATTEMPT TO SEEK UN COVER FOR ITS  
TOTALLY UNWARRANTED INTERFERENCE IN PAKISTAN'S  
INTERNAL AFFAIRS. UN HAS MOVED TO ACT IN CASE

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INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 SR-02 ORM-01 AID-05 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01

PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 /072 W

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P R 150533Z APR 75

FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9641

INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 ISLAMABAD 3269

INVOLVING ONLY 700 "SO-CALLED REFUGEES" WHILE AT SAME TIME NOT ACTING TOWARD HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF VIETNAMESE, KURDISH OR ERITREAN REFUGEES (IN SUDAN).

AFGHAN GOVERNMENT HAS "OPENLY REPUDIATED" LEGALLY ESTABLISHED FRONTIER BETWEEN AFGHANISTAN AND PAKISTAN AND HAS DEFIED UN PRINCIPLES BY OPENLY CLAIMING RIGHT TO INTERFERE IN PAK INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

GOA IS HARBORING AND MAINTAINING IN ITS PAY A NUMBER OF ABSCONDERS FROM PAK JUSTICE, INCLUDING AJMAL KHATTAK.

WALI KHAN'S SON HAS CONFESSED IN COURT TO HAVING CONSPIRED IN AND MASTER-MINDED SHERPAO ASSASSINATION.

AJMAL KHATTAK IS IN CHARGE OF TRAINING CAMPS FOR GUERRILLAS LOCATED IN OUTSKIRTS OF KABUL AND OF ORGANIZING SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES IN PAKISTAN.

AFGHAN GOVERNMENT HAS REFUSED TO ALLOW PAK DIPLOMATS TO VISIT REFUGEE CAMPS AND WILL NOT PERMIT REFUGEES TO BE REPATRIATED TO PAKISTAN. "REFUGEES ARE REPORTED TO BE LODGED IN BARBED WIRE CAMPS, PRESUMABLY TO PREVENT THEIR EXCAPE." MOST OF "SO-CALLED REFUGEES" IN FACT CRIMINAL FUGITIVES  
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WHO HAVE COMMITTED VIOLENT CRIMES IN BALUCHISTAN AND FRONTIER.

THE "DARK AND UNFORTUNATE LAND" OF AFGHANISTAN HAS KNOWN NO FREEDOMS OF PRESS, SPEECH OR ASSOCIATION SINCE DAUD USUPRATION OF POWER BY COUP D'ETAT. A FORMER AFGHAN PRIME MINISTER MYSTERIOUSLY COMMITTED "SUICIDE." OTHER AFGHAN LEADERS HAVE "MYSTERIOUSLY DISAPPEARED" AND THOUSANDS OF POLITICAL DISSIDENTS HAVE BEEN THROWN INTO DUNGEONS AND ARE BEING TORTURED AND ARE BEING KEPT THERE WITHOUT TRIAL.

BECAUSE OF DAUD "REIGN OF TERROR," UP TO 170,000 AFGHAN REFUGEES HAVE CROSSED INTO PAKISTAN.

4. COMMENT: SHARPNESS OF PAK REACTION HAD DOUBTLESS BEEN HEIGHTENED BY THEIR ANGER AT WALDHEIM FOR FAILURE TO CONSULT WITH THEM AND BY THEIR RECOLLECTION THAT IT WAS REFUGEE ISSUE WHICH SET THE STAGE FOR THE 1971 WAR AND THE DISMEMBERMENT OF PAKISTAN WHICH FOLLOWED. MUCH OF THE TEXT OF THE LETTERS IS A REITERATION, OF COURSE,

OF WHAT HAS COME TO BE FAMILIAR GOP RHETORIC. THERE ARE SOME NEW TWISTS, HOWEVER. THIS IS THE FIRST TIME THAT WE HAVE HEARD MENTION THAT PAK DIPLOMATS HAD SOUGHT PERMISSION TO VISIT THE CAMPS. (WE REPORTED IN DECEMBER THAT THE AFGHANS WERE BUSY TRYING TO SHOW THE CAMPS TO FOREIGN DIPLOMATS.) THE AZIZ AHMED LETTER ALSO MAKES MORE EXPLICIT THAN BEFORE THE CENTRAL ROLE THAT THE GOP APPARENTLY HAS GIVEN THE "CONFESSION" OF WALI KHAN'S SON IN ITS EFFORT TO ESTABLISH NAP COMPLICITY IN THE SHERPAO MURDER. (COINCIDENTALLY, PRESS REPORTS FROM PESHAWAR THAT POLICE HAVE PREVENTED WALI'S FATHER, ABDUL GHAFAR KHAN, FROM "FLEEING" TO AFGHANISTAN. HE HAS REPORTEDLY BEEN TAKEN BACK TO PESHAWAR AND CONFINED THERE.)

5. THE GOP COUNTERCHARGE THAT 170,000 REFUGEES HAVE FLED FROM PAKISTAN TO AFGHANISTAN IS ALMOST CERTAINLY BASED IN IMPORTANT MEASURE ON THE PRESENCE ON THIS SIDE OF THE DURAND LINE AT THIS TIME OF NOMADS WHO TRADITIONALLY WINTER AT LOWER ALTITUDES. IN THIS CONNECTION, MFA DIRECTOR (AFGHANISTAN) GHORRI TOLD EMBOFF APRIL 8 THAT IN THE FUTURE GOP WOULD NOT ALLOW ANY MORE NOMADS TO

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CROSS FROM AFGHANISTAN AND THAT THEY WOULD "DISCOURAGE" THEM CROSSING INTO AFGHANISTAN THIS SPRING. WE PRESUME THIS IS WHY THEY ARE REPORTED AS "REFUSING" TO RETURN. IN RESPONSE TO EMBOFF'S QUESTION, GHORRI ADMITTED TO THE DIFFICULTY OF SEALING THE LONG AND POROUS BORDER AGAINST NOMADS AND AGREED WITH EMBOFF THAT ARMY WOULD PROBABLY HAVE TO BE USED TO SEAL IT. WHEN EMBOFF NOTED ALARM CAUSED IN INDIA LAST YEAR WHEN PAK RANGERS USED TO SEAL INDO-PAK BORDER AGAINST SMUGGLERS, GHORRI INDICATED THAT A SIMILAR AFGHAN REACTION WAS A POSSIBLE OUTCOME IF ARMY USED.

6. COPIES OF NEWSPAPER ARTICLE WHICH REPORTS LETTERS TO WALDHEIM BEING POUCHED TO ADDRESSEES.  
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## Message Attributes

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**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
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**TAGS:** PFOR, PINT, PORG, PK, AF, UN  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
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